Open Access

Research Article

J. Glob. Innov. Agric. Sci., 2026, 14(2):469-475
ISSN (Online): 2788-4546; ISSN (Print):2788-4538
DOI: https://doi.org/10.22194/JGIAS/26.1761
http://www.jgiass.com

Agricultural Modernization and Structural Changes in Coastal Economies: Evidence from Bungkutoko Fishing Communities

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Differentiation is the process of division of roles and functions in the complex fishing community in Bungkutoko due to modernization in fishing technology for Bungkutoko fishermen. Dedifferentiation is the process by which groups that are specialized return to the previous social structure. The purpose of this study was to determine the phenomenon of differentiation and dedifferentiation that occurs due to job diversification as a consequence of the development of fisheries management technology for fishermen in Bungkutoko, Kendari City. This study uses a qualitative method, where data analysis begins with data reduction, namely summarizing information that is closely related to modernization activities. The results of the study showed significant changes in the way of working, where the use of simple old technology is transformed into new technology that is more modern, effective, and efficient. The development of this fishing technology has resulted in a shift from household-scale fishing efforts to a wider scale. Among the Bungkutoko fishing community, this change has given rise to institutional differentiation for the same function, which is marked by the formalization of business entities. In addition, in terms of functional differentiation within the same institution, there are increasingly more types or groups of fish marketing. The phenomenon of latency is also reflected in the emergence of efforts to support fishing activities, such as the provision of clean water. Thus, this study shows that technological developments not only affect fishing methods but also bring changes in the social and economic structure of fishing communities.

Keywords: Anthropology, coastal communities, marine tourism, fishing community, dialectical phenomena .

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian maritime in the context of anthropological studies, has been widely studied related to coastal communities, especially in fishing communities as a serious concern, especially regarding the socio-cultural and economic life of coastal communities. The studies conducted focus on empowerment as a result of the impact of Indonesian development which is considered unfair and inequitable. In this context, studies on the empowerment of fishing communities have made a significant contribution to the world of Indonesian anthropology, especially maritime anthropology studies.

In the range of development of research on fishing communities, it is not something new to talk about. A fairly extensive literature review of the socio-cultural life of fishing communities in various places in the world, including Indonesia. Indonesia is a country in the form of an archipelago surrounded by sea, making Indonesia potentially the axis of Indonesian maritime. According to Ramadhan and Chaerul (2023) that as an archipelagic country has various benefits such as great economic potential in the maritime sector including in the fields of fisheries, shipping, and marine tourism.

Although Indonesia has enormous maritime potential, including the fisheries sector, there are still various challenges that need to be overcome in achieving potential, one of which is human resources in the maritime sector, namely fishermen. Fishermen are one of the indicators that make a real contribution to the development of maritime and maritime ties and development (Windasai et al., 2021). On the other hand, the fishing community views that the fishing community is

Hamzah, A., R.M. Iswandi, H. Sudarmo, H. Batoa, L.O. Alwi & L.O.K. Arief. (2026). Agricultural modernization and structural changes in coastal economies: Evidence from Bungkutoko fishing communities. Journal of Global Innovations in Agricultural Sciences, *14*(2),469-475.
[Received 24 Jan 2025; Accepted 28 May 2025; Published 11 Jan 2026]

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full of humility, fishermen who work at sea are sometimes often considered a community that lacks significant capabilities in the empowerment and development committee of the nation, even doubts about their abilities as fishermen (Farhan & Maulana, 2017). This creates a perception among anthropologists that the fishing community is held back by a cultural value system that tends to be exploited and marginalized. Thus, the emergence of ideas with various restructuring programs among the fishing community through the development of technology and management, or what is known as the transformation process (modernization).

However, the reality that occurs shows a relevant situation. According to Agus (2018), the presence of foreign investors in the coastal fishing community, this condition results in a lot of foreign investment in the fisheries sector. Generally, investors are non-fishermen capital owners who develop businesses in the fisheries sector. This means that the fisheries business is actually successful economically. However, the presence of these foreign investors also raises anxiety in the fishing community who will experience changes in fishing vehicles and modernization of fishing gear. According to Dhika (2024) that some business segments are controlled by foreign investors, causing coastal communities to be limited in business development. Wibowo and Fahroji (2024) explain that not only does it worsen natural resources, but it can also cause coastal communities to feel that there will be anxiety about the condition of natural resources but also about economic growth. In addition, social stratification based on control of capital, means of production, and skills is getting sharper in society.

The government considers it necessary to improve the standard of living of fishermen. This effort is also supported by entrepreneurs or investors, who see the potential of the fisheries business. Fisheries modernization, known as the Blue Revolution, aims to improve the welfare of fishermen while meeting the needs of fish in the national, regional, and local contexts. These programs include assistance in modifying fishing gear, providing revolving credit for coastal communities, and guidance on coastal and marine environmental management. According to that fisheries modernization (Blue Revolution) can refer to the level of production and maximum economic benefits for fishing communities, with this increase it can improve the welfare of fishermen (Ismail & Amir, 2025). However, challenges remain, Dependence on foreign investors and pressure from the global market can threaten the sustainability of local fishermen's businesses. In addition, despite efforts to empower fishermen, there are still gaps in access to existing resources and opportunities. Therefore, it is important to develop strategies that not only focus on increasing production, but also consider aspects of sustainability and social justice.

Foreign investors play a crucial role in increasing the complexity of production organizations among Bungkutoko fishermen. They not only bring the capital needed to update fishing gear and technology, but also introduce more efficient management practices. With this investment, fishermen gain access to new technologies, such as more sophisticated fish monitoring devices and catch processing systems, which increase the productivity and quality of the catch. In addition, foreign investors often help fishermen build wider market connections, allowing them to sell their products to international markets. This creates new groups within the fishing community that focus on certain specializations, such as fish processing, marketing, or distribution. Thus, support from foreign investors not only encourages the modernization of tools and practices, but also enriches the social and economic structure of the Bungkutoko fishing community.

Bungkutoko is one of the islands in Southeast Sulawesi, some of whom work as fishermen. Fishermen who live on this island depend entirely on marine products, so that the implementation of the modernization program is very vulnerable for fishermen in Bungkutoko. The current condition of fishermen is the result of increasingly dwindling catches, inadequate fishing gear and fishing techniques, government policies that are less supportive, and the reluctance of the next generation to continue the work of fishermen. This is an important problem experienced by Bungkutoko fishermen.

Modernization in the Bungkutoko fishing community has brought significant changes in the way they catch fish. Previously, fishermen used smaller traditional tools that required a lot of energy to operate, such as fishing gear that still used traditional ones, namely bubu, nets. The use of modern technology in the fishing process has an impact on increasing fishermen's knowledge. According to Akmal et al. (2020) explained that before modernization, the lives of traditional fishermen had limitations both in knowledge and skills as well as in their economy.

The dialectic phenomenon in the fishing community is interpreted as the phenomenon of the helplessness of the fishing community in providing an idea in carrying out fishing work, this is related to the modernization that occurred in the fisheries sector which was caused by the entry of foreign investors in doing business using sophisticated technology. As a result of the use of this sophisticated technology, traditional fishermen began to experience changes in social structure with the formation of groups that use sophisticated technology and traditional technology, thus modernization will cause structural differentiation in traditional societies. According to Riduan (2021) explains that in social change, modern society will always involve the concept of differentiation. This relationship is usually the formation of groups in the social structure of traditional society, the division of labor in the social structure of fishing communities.

Based on the background above, this study attempts to answer how the modernization of fish management technology in

Bungkutoko has caused the process of differentiation and dedifferentiation in the social and economic structure of the fishing community. Several studies have shown that in fishing communities there is complexity that occurs due to social differentiation. This is reinforced by Rizik et al. (2021), explaining that the fishing industry has created a real specialization of functions and institutions in the modernization of fishing communities.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research was conducted from April to July 2022 in Bungkutoko, Poasia District, Kendari City, Southeast Sulawesi Province. The research location was chosen purposefully based on the consideration that access to the area was quite easy, personal relationships between researchers and potential informants (respondents) were well established beforehand, the majority of the community worked as capture fishermen, and there had been a transition (modernization) of the use of fishing means by fishermen.

This type of research is qualitative research, namely the research method used to examine the condition of natural objects, where the researcher is the key instrument, in other words, explaining facts through individual actions. The basis for thinking in qualitative research is Max Weber's thought, which states that the subject of sociological research is not social phenomena but the meanings that lie behind individual actions that encourage the realization of these social phenomena. According to Sugiyono (2018), qualitative research is intended to understand human behavior from the actor's point of reference, namely how the actor perceives and interprets activities from the point of view of his stance. This type of research is a case study that aims to examine as a whole the phenomenon of transformation of differentiation and social dedifferentiation in the Bungkutoko fishing community.

In line with the research method used in this research, namely the qualitative method, the data collection technique used is the data collection technique commonly used in qualitative research, namely the participant observation technique of the life situation of fishing communities and in-depth interview techniques with informants. Documentation techniques will also be used if available and deemed relevant to this research, such as diaries, archives, statistical data, and so on.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

***Division of work*:** Fishermen have various needs. These needs are reflected in the functions that exist in society. To carry out these functions, an institution or several institutions are formed according to their respective functions. Therefore, the greater the needs of a society, the more institutions are needed to carry out the function of fulfilling these needs. This situation also reflects the occurrence of socio-cultural transformation in society.

Social change (including social transformation), leading to a modern society, is determined by the division of labor and social differentiation, in which there is a shift in social solidarity (Zulfikar, 2022). Horizontally, social differentiation occurs in the form of the emergence of new functions and new institutions in society (Fitri et al., 2023), and vertically, social differentiation occurs in the form of social stratification based on skills and income (Hidayat, 2022). In the fishing community in Bungkutoko, patron-client institutional transformation is also taking place.

In terms of effectiveness, the use of gae results in more results being achieved as well as a variety of types of fish being caught. In terms of efficiency, the work of mustard greens is lighter than when using the "manual" systems of koli-koli and ngkuru-ngkuru (Hamzah et al., 2021). Under these conditions, fishermen are free to determine catchment areas that have more fish according to the zoning set by the local Marine Fisheries Service. In contrast to the previous period, fishermen took into account the risk of labor and distances that were difficult to reach.

The use of technology in the aspect of engine power has implications for increasing cruising range in select fishing areas that are considered to have more fish resources. The achievement of a long cruising range makes the fishing time longer for fishermen. Even some fleets (pagae) have bases in certain areas. The use of ship technology, which must contain purse seine fishing gear, cannot be operated by small groups. Trawlers are loaded on ships with a minimum capacity of 5-10 GT with groups of 12-15 people.

Sociological changes occur when using the Gae motor ship. As explained earlier, the gae fleet requires 10-12 people, and some jobs require special skills. By using an engine with a capacity of 5-10 GT, the fleet requires machinists to run, maintain, and repair the engine (bass). This position is usually filled by Ponggawa children who are specially taught. The new position is that of a trawler who is entrusted with a sawi who is deemed capable of the job.

The position of the helmsman (nakhoda) and directions, as well as determining the location of the arrest, are entrusted to the ponggawa. If using a generator, a saw is required to operate the machine. So, with modernization, social differentiation occurs, as seen from the increasing number of social positions that lead to changes in tiered and hierarchical stratification. There is no cook position because Sawi brings his own supplies for dinner. The absence of this position also causes the ponggawa not to bear the cost of food and supplies.

***Fishermen's Dialectic of Differentiation and Dedifferentiation*:** The transformation towards an industrial society is characterized by increased job mobility in the sense that there is a shift from manual to non-manual characteristics, so that there is a clear distinction between the middle class and the working class (Metzgar, 2021). In

addition to the shift from manual to non-manual characteristics, the professional and managerial classes are also growing; they are entrepreneurs or skilled workers and are often referred to as the middle class (Pahlevi & Sagimin, 2020).

In the process of differentiation due to modernization, Smelser (1992) emphasizes the importance of integration (unification) of the new structure. These structural characteristics are based on the thought of Talcott Parsons, who argued that differentiation on the one hand increases autonomy and on the other hand creates a new form of integration (Ormerod, 2020). Therefore, modernization views the importance of structural coordination even though it cannot be completed perfectly. Prior to the modernization of fisheries, investment in the fishing community in Bungkutoko was slow. Fishermen's investment only takes place in fishing gear in the form of traditional canoes equipped with fishing gear in the form of small nets and fishing rods. With this simple equipment, the catch is not optimal because fishermen cannot go out to sea. The implication is that fishermen's income can only meet their daily needs (subsistence), making it difficult to invest. The on-going transformation of the fishing industry was not followed by the development of businesses that support the fishing industry, especially in Bungkutoko. This is indicated by the absence of businesses selling ice and selling fuel oil (diesel) for the operations of these new ships. The geofree location, which is close to the center of Kendari City, and investment development that is not optimal have prevented the two businesses from growing. Fishermen can directly buy gallons of oil and ice from depots that are not far from the location. The transportation industry is also not developing because it is already dominated by outside entrepreneurs. In addition, there are no residents who can afford to invest in it on a large scale.

This picture shows that even though there has been a transformation of the fishing industry in Bungkutoko due to increased investment, it has only benefited some people. Others still maintain traditional fishing gear in the form of sailboats. The gap in investment capability in fishing creates an increasingly sharp gap between owner fishermen and traditional fishermen. The recent increase in the price of raw materials has made it even more difficult for fishermen who use boats with outboard engines. Operational costs are getting higher, and for one operation, the position of fishermen is increasingly squeezed, making it difficult to be able to invest. The results of interviews with informants stated that currently fishermen are in a squeezed position; their catches are small, so fishermen often lose money. Many fishermen parked their outboard boats and switched jobs to become traditional fishermen again. With a canoe without a machine, there is no need for large operational costs, even though the results are also very minimal. This phenomenon shows that there are fluctuations in industrial transformation when viewed from the perspective of investment. This means that the investment in the Bungkutoko fishing community does not proceed linearly, but there are conditions where the stagnant situation re-occurs. At least for small fishermen who are starting to revive their fishing business, namely from using traditional canoes to using outboard engine boats and returning to traditional canoes. Investment from the government, even though the quantity is large, does not contribute directly to the developments that occur; it only functions as a stimulant.

Before the fisheries modernization policy took place, fishermen in Bungkutoko still used simple fishing gear individually. Even if there is a group, there should be at most two people. They are usually relatives or neighbors. Fishermen still use traditional canoes without sails or those equipped with small sails; the catchment area is not far from the coast, and their production is still just to meet their daily needs. Fishing gear technology begins with the use of fishing rods, traps, and nets (nets equipped with weights). Fishing gear like this can only be operated in shallow-water areas. Even though the technology for fishing gear is still simple, fishermen don't need to worry about not getting results, even if the results are not optimal.

The phenomenon of social differentiation in the Bungkutoko community has not been sufficient to replace the old functions and institutions (patron-client). This shows that Tiryakian's conception Annisa (2024) regarding dedifferentiation as a reverse process of differentiation in the Bungkutoko fishing community actually did not occur. According to Smelser's theory of social differentiation (Daly, 2021), new needs should be met by the emergence of new institutions that function to meet these needs. The new institution should be run by a new group of people.

The new institution should be run by a new group of people. From the results of interviews with informants, it can be seen that these new needs were not responded to by the emergence of new institutions with new groups, but by groups that already existed in society. This situation, according to Adisel et al. (2023) in economics, is known as "monopoly". This situation causes traditional institutions such as patron-client relationships to continue to exist (survive), with a tendency for the patron's position to become stronger because they are able to accumulate all the economic resources available in Bungkutoko. The occurrence of this de-differentiation process causes the diversity of sources of dependency and client protection to occur in Bungkutoko as a prerequisite for the decline of the patron-client institution.

***Context Economic of Differentiation and Dedifferentiation*:** In the context of economic commercialization (rationalization), several things that are put forward in the research framework are indicators that there has been a transformation of patron-client ties in the Bungkotoko fishing community. These indicators are based on the characteristics put forward by Ariwibowo (2020) and are briefly shown in the Table 1.

Table 1. Research indicators based on the characteristics of fishermen

Sr.	Patron-Client Dimension	Time Period Based on Fishing Gear Type/Production Mode				
		Fishing (≤ 1980)	**Bubu (≤ 1980)**	**Bagang (≤ 1980)**	***Gae* 6-10 GT (5-7 people) 1980s-late 1990s**	***Gae* 30-54 GT (20-25 people) early 2000 - present**
1	differentiation	*punggawa*, follower worker	*punggawa*, follower worker	*punggawa*, follower worker	*punggawa bas, pakacca, palampu, pakurung, sawi*.	*punggawa* Land, *punggawa* Sea, *Bas, pakacca, palampu, pakurung,sawi*.
	Stratification a. fishermen groups					
1	type of layer	top (*punggawa*), bottom (follower worker)	top (*punggawa*), bottom (follower worker)	top (*punggawa)*, bottom (*sawi*)	top (*punggawa*), intermediate (*bas, pakacca,pakurung,palampu*), *bricklayer*, bottom (*sawi biasa*)	top (*punggawa darat*), intermediate (nakhoda, bas, pakurung, pakacca, logistik, tukang batu bawah (*sawi* biasa)
2	base/size	ownership	ownership	ownership	ownership, job position	ownership, job position
	Stratifikasi b. Komunitas					
1	type of layer	**top** (owners, nobles, community leaders) **bottom** (followers, casual workers)	**top** (owners, nobles, community leaders) **bottom** (followers, casual workers)	**top** (owners, nobles, community leaders) **bottom** (*sawi*, odd workers)	**top** (*punggawa* land, nobility*)* **intrmediate** (*punggawa laut, b*as, *pakkurung, palampu, pakkaca*) **bottom** (*sawi* ordinary*)*	**top** (*punggawa* land, nobility*)* **intermediate** (*punggawa sea, b*as, *pakkurung, palampu, pakkaca*) **bottom** (*sawi* ordinary*)*
2	base/size	*ascribed status, achieved status*	*ascribed status, achieved status*	*ascribed status, achieved status*	*achieved status*	*achieved status*
3	structure/nature of relationship	non-exploitative	non-exploitative	non-exploitative	hierarchical, non-exploitative	hierarchical, non-exploitative
4	profit sharing system	Half is given to the owner	Half is given to the owner	Half is given to the owner	50 : 50	50 : 50
5	basic exchange system	subsistence needs	subsystem requirements	subsystem requirements	subsistence needs, reinvestment patron	subsistence needs, reinvestment patron
6.	orientation of economic activity	subsisten	subsisten	subsistence and commercial	subsistence and commercial	subsistence and commercial
7.	economic relations and transactions	balance between economic and social	balance between economic and social	balance between economic and social	balance between economic and social	economy is more prominent
8.	economic interaction	need each other	need each other	need each other (*sawi* more dominant)	need each other (patron more dominant)	need each other (patron more dominant)
9.	exchanged resources	material and non-material	material and non-material	material and non-material	material	material
10.	client loyalty to patron	very loyal	very loyal	very loyal	loyal	less generous
11.	the power possessed by patrons and clients	patron (boat)	patron (boat)	patron (boat, bagang)	patron (capital, ship, client fishing gear, about, skill)	patron (capital, ship, client fishing gear, about, skill)
12.	the permanence of the bond	langgeng	langgeng	langgeng	langgeng	depending on economic interests
13.	client's position on economic choices	have no other choice	have no other choice	have no other choice	many alternatives	many alternatives

***Conclusion*:** In the fishing community of Bungkutoko, there is institutional differentiation for the same function marked by formalization in the form of a business entity. In terms of function differentiation in the same institution, it can be seen that there are more and more types or groups of fish marketing. Meanwhile, the phenomenon of the latency function is reflected in the emergence of efforts to support

fishing activities, for example, by providing clean water. Even though there is social differentiation in the Bungkutoko community, it is not yet capable enough to replace the old functions and institutions. In fact, what happens is de-differentiation, a reverse process of differentiation. According to social differentiation theory, new needs should be met by the emergence of new institutions that function to meet these needs.

***Acknowledgement*:** We are thankful to the Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture, Halu Oleo University and to the Head of Agriculture Department of Kendari City, Southeast Sulawesi Province, Indonesia

***CRediT author statement*:** Hamzah, A. Designed and finalized the draft; Iswandi, M. reviewed, Hadi Sudarmo, Hartina Batoa, La Ode Alwi and La Ode Kasno Arief.

Conflict of interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Ethical statement: This article does not contain any studies which require ethics committee approval.

***Availability of data and material*:** The data is available with the corresponding author which can be made available on request.

***Acknowledgment*:** We are thankful to Dr. Awaluddin Hamzah dalam menyelesaikan tulisan ini.

***Consent to participate*:** All participants consented for this research study.

***Consent for publication*:** All authors submitted consent to publish this research article in JGIAS.

***SDGs addressed*:** Decent Work and Economic Growth, ustainable Cities and Communities, Life Below Water,

***Policy referred*:** Regulated Foreign Investment Frameworks; Strengthening Local Cooperatives for Dedifferentiation; Job Diversification Programs to Mitigate Differentiation.4. Sustainability and Resource Management; Cultural Preservation and Social Safety Nets.

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